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DECLARATION OF "KHALISTAN" REMAINS A DAMP SQUIB

'Absured, Senseless And Sacrilegious', Says Barnala

What did five members of the so-called "Panthic committee", who had been appointed by the Sarbat Khalsa show at the Akali Takht on January 26 this year, gain by declaring the formation of "Khalistan" on April 29?

Nothing:

However, the timing of the announcement gathers importance. For some time the "Panthic committee" had been reduced to a non-entity, as its credentials were challenged by "united" Akali Dal and All-India Sikh Students Federation (Manjit Singh group). It tried to re-establish itself in some Sikh eyes by leaning totally toward Damdami Taksal and Kahlon faction of AISSF. But these moves did not cut much ice. Its members were also torn by mutual rivalries.

Thus, it needed some dramatic move to draw attention to itself and send a shock wave throughout India, if only to make its existence known. And the "Khalistan" dream became handy.

Its thinking also was that if the police entered the Golden Temple complex to ferret them out, they would be recipients of widespread sympathy from Sikh masses and the government would automatically stand condemned.

Four of the five member of the Panthic committee did not display courage expected of them as brave Sikhs. Instead of staying put in the Golden Temple complex, they fled a few hours after the announcement of "Khalistan" was made, leaving their minions to face the storm. This was sheer cowardice almost betrayal.

The Barnala ministry was left with two hard options:

First, wait for some more

time and allow the militants to realism and good sense after saying goodbye to boastful bravadoes and meaningless antics;

Secondly, beard the lion in its own den with firmness and promptitude.

The first course was fraught with dangers, as the militants had taken previous leniency and large-heartedness as a sign of weakness. So the unwelcome decision to send the police and para-military forces into the Golden Temple complex could no longer be delayed.

This decision was implemented with cool heads. The police entered only Guru Ram Das serai, Akal rest house and Guru Nanak Niwas. It did not set its foot on the holy precincts of the Harimandir. Thus, no one can say that the holiest Sikh shrine has been subjected to sacrilege.

The formation of "Khalistan" has been condemned by leading

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Punjab Congress Must Clarify Stand On Villages To Be Given To Haryana

So far we had held that a handful of Punjab Hindus of the old Jan Sangh brand or present BJP stamp, were rank communalists and would not hesitate from doing anything mean to embarrass Sikhs. Now to their category must be added a few Congress (I) men also.

They fatten themselves on Punjab resources and yet do not mind stabbing it in the back.

In other words, they are traitors to their own state.

The latest instance is provided by Mr Sat Pal Kapoor, a senior Congress (I) leaders and member of AICC (I). He has led a deputation to Mr Justice E.S. Vankataramiah, pleading for the transfer of Patiala, Samana and Rajpura tehsils of Patiala district to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh.

It is, therefore, in fitness of things that senior Akali leaders have asked PPCC (I) Chief Beant Singh to clarify the stand of his party on this vital issue.

If Mr Kapoor is not expelled from the party, the people of Punjab would be justified in presuming that the state Con-

gress (I) is hands in gloves with anti-Punjab and communal forces to harm the state.

Perhaps Mr Kapoor wants to re-establish himself in the eyes of Hindus of these areas by taking a strident stand so that he can win the next Lok Sabha election.

The statement by a few Hindu leaders of Patiala, who have been notorious for their communal outlook and anti-Sikh postures, backing Mr Kapoor's demand is understandable. Some others have asked for replacement of Punjab police by CRPF so that the people of the areas "cannot be pressurized by Punjab ministers into declaring Punjabi as their mother tongue."

These leaders claim that the dialect of these areas is akin to that of Ambala and Kurukshetra

districts.

This is a fallacy.

According to various linguistic surveys, people there speak pure Punjabi in their homes and bazars. A mother tongue is what a child learns from his mother or what an illiterate person speaks. And Punjabi comes out victorious in this test.

These Hindu leaders should delve deep into the plight of Punjabis already settled in Haryana. They are being treated as pariahs. Punjabi farmers in Guhia area, both Hindus and Sikhs, are being uprooted. Government jobs to Punjabis are denied on the basis of not being sons of the soil and, therefore, outsiders. Licences for factories and transport are few and far between to come by. No wonder, residents of 40 odd villages, which Barnala ministry had offered to Haryana before the Mathew commission, have submitted a joint memorandum to oppose their merger with Haryana. This in itself should be an eyeopener to Mr Kapoor and men of his ilk.

Disenchantment With Rajiv Gandhi Growing

Remedial Measures To Refurbish Congress(I) Image Needed

Congress(I) is in ferment, and the signal of dissidence, which has been muted so far, has become loud and clear. But it is too early to conjecture that a serious challenge to Mr Rajiv Gandhi's leadership has been mounted.

The latest is the letter which the working president, Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, wrote to

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Sikhs in India and all national political parties.

Punjab Chief Minister Surjit Singh Barnala called it "absurd, senseless and sacrilegious". Former Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal described it as "shocking" and "against the interest of Sikhs".

The Punjab cabinet in a resolution adopted at its emergency meeting on April 30, reiterated its resolve to launch a fight to the finish against "secessionist elements" who could not be allowed to "challenge the sovereignty of the country". It said the move exposed the sinister game of foreign forces who sought to "destabilise and disrupt the unity and integrity of Indian people through the mercenary mafia of murderers and marauders in unauthorised possession of the Golden Temple".

But New Delhi would do well to have a close peep into the causes which led the "Panthic committee" to declare "Khalistan".

It is symptomatic of the deep frustration which has gripped Sikhs. The area, in which "Sikhs would enjoy the glow of freedom," promised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1946, has never been in sight. The solemn pledges given to Sikhs by Congress leaders during 1946-47 negotiations with the British were thrown down the drain on the morrow of independence after Sikhs had cast their lot with India. Then every effort was made to make Sikhs look small, almost second-class citizens. Their keen desire to maintain separate religious identity was denounced as separatism while honest difference of opinion, so inherent in a democracy, was decreed as sedition. Despite numerous sacrifices made by Sikhs, before and after independence, they were looked down upon as an untrustworthy lot, almost disloyal. Even their genuine demands, which were meant to benefit both Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab, were not met.

The Rajiv-Longowal accord of last year did make amends for past government acts of omission and commission. But its implementation has been plagued by so many fits and starts.

Mr Gandhi last week in which he did not mince any words. He spoke of "serious deterioration in the functioning of the organisation," of "various irregularities and bogus membership," and, finally, of the "danger to the party" and, therefore, to the country.

Mr Tripathi had long ceased to be a man of any consequence. Even the appearances became irrelevant, especially after Mr Arjun Singh was brought in to run party affairs as vice-president. The interest in the latter, thus, is about the speculation it has generated regarding its inspiration and likely implications.

His protest is being invested with a national import. It is being deduced that he spoke on behalf of a large number of senior Congress(I) politicians who were once prominent and powerful and are now out in the cold.

The expulsion of Mr Pranab Mukherjee, former union finance minister, and suspension of three others—Mr A.P. Sharma, a former union minister and governor; Mr Sripathi Mishra, a former UP chief minister; and Mr Praash Mehrotra, a former

governor and a high commissioner to UK—for anti-party activities are meant to warn other critics of Mr Gandhi's way of curbing possible revolt.

He has, nonetheless, to ensure a correct balance between requirements of governmental administration and party's political control. He has been leaning heavily on his "computer boys" and bureaucratic aides. There is nothing novel about it. His mother also functioned in a similar manner. There is truth in the complaint that officials, both senior and junior, of AICC(I) secretariat are used as errand boys of administrative decisions.

The party organisation itself shows no signs of improvement. The distance between the leader and his followers is by no means being reduced. If disappointment is growing, it because of a deeper uncertainty about Mr Gandhi's sense of purpose and direction.

The resounding phrases heard in Bombay have begun to look like tired rhetoric of the past. It is ironic that a reminder should have come from an old man who, instead of sulking, should have gracefully resigned long ago. But in India politicians seldom retire.

It would be too much for Mr Gandhi to believe that the purge would end dissidence. He has to take compensatory action to refurbish his government's image of dynamism, modernity, equality and change.

Guru Nanak Institute for comparative study of religion

Guru Nanak Institute for Comparative Study of Religion is a kind of an academic Institute which is a recognized research Centre for advance studies in the field of Sikhism and Comparative Religion, by Punjab University, Chandigarh and Punjabi University, Patiala both. This Institute is managed by Guru Nanak Foundation—a leading body of the Sikhs. Scholars who are genuinely interested in Research are appointed as research Fellows for three years. After completion of their research, they are awarded Ph.D's in their relevant field. The Institute also houses a big library equipped with rare material—traditional as well as modern in the field of Sikh Studies and Comparative Religion.

The Institute has also pioneered in circulating a monthly bibliography entitled 'Documentation on Sikh Studies' which covers more than a hundred entries comprising articles, essays and editorials from different research journals, magazines, periodicals, weeklies and dailies.

In this, attempt is being made to cover all the aspects of Sikh Religion and the Sikhs including Punjab Affairs. The compilers of this bibliographical format are Dr. Rajwant Singh and Sardar Amarjit Singh—Senior Research Officer of the Institute. Till now three volumes have already been circulated all over India and abroad.

Further more, it is worthy of note that Guru Nanak Foundation has already published nearly twenty five titles of eminent scholars and writers. Side by side, the Institute is already publishing a leading bi-annual research journal called 'Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion' which has acquired a wide circulation. Almost 8 volumes of this journal have already been published. The Editor of the Journal Dr. Mohinder Singh who is Director of Guru Nanak Foundation and his assistant colleague Sardar Amarjit Singh-SRO are conjointly putting in their efforts in accomplishing a job of this nature.



7th May, 1956
AKALI CAMP
AT BABA BAKALA

(An editorial)

The Akali Dal did well in holding a camp at Baba Bakala on 27, 28 & 29th of April. Such camps serve very useful purpose. The workers and leaders have opportunities to come together and know each other more intimately. The workers have close contacts with the masses and they can bring fresh trends to the notice of the leaders. The policies of the party can be adjusted or modified to the circumstances. The field workers may have experienced some difficulties in carrying out the programme of the party. When these workers meet in such camps then the leaders are posted with such experiences and future policies or changes in programmes can be made accordingly. There is also an opportunity for introspection and self-examination. The past is reviewed and the future is programmed. The workers go back revitalised and inspired. The party gains strength as the loyalty of the workers is reassured.

The present camp at Baba Bakala has another and additional significance. The evil of the use of Alcohol is very rampant among the Sikhs. To be more specific the Sikhs are defamed and maligned as drunkards though in fact, if a comparison were made, they are not worse than their other countrymen in various regions. Yet on account of their virile nature, there is, no doubt, good number of crimes committed under the influence of Alcohol. The Akali Dal is determined to root out such social evils. A regular campaign has been started and those, the leaders and the workers alike, took a solemn vow to abstain from the use of Alcohol in future.

There was general support for the resolution of the general Council, adopted at Amritsar in respect of the regional scheme. Some concern was shown on the attitude of some of the Jullundar Hindus led by Jan Sanghis. There was opinion growing that if this attitude continues and develops further then these elements would make it impossible for the two communities to live together peacefully. However it was decided that an all out effort be made to bring about unity between the two sister communities, and the workers were enjoined to exert themselves for that end.

A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

Without, meditation on the True Name,
I have no other miraculous power —Guru Gobind Singh

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SPENT FORCE

Baba Joginder Singh's 'united' Akali Dal can be written off as a spent force, not because of sabotage from outside but sheerly due to corrosion from within. From the very outset, it was a conglomeration of diverse elements who were burning with personal grievances. Some were sore over having been denied plums of office by Shiromani Akali Dal highbrass; others felt aggrieved at poor prospects of harvesting money; still more wanted to make capital out of the charisma which Babaji carried as father of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale, daydreaming that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal would be no match for the old man. Babaji created the 'United' Akali Dal through wily manoeuvres, if not outright ruse. He made use of the letter which the Sant wrote to him to work for unity between Shiromani Akali Dal and Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi's rump. Instead of making the two warring leaders sink their differences, which were personal than ideological, Babaji dissolved the two factions and brought into being UAD with himself as its "acting convener." Soon he was joined by some disgruntled elements from Shiromani Akali Dal which maintained its original entity.

This UAD assemblage of discordant voices playing their own different symphonies, got the first shock when Babaji decided to boycott the Punjab assembly elections last year and called upon all Sikhs to stay away from polling booths. But the turnout was much more than ever before, thereby demonstrating without any shadow of doubt that Babaji's call had gone completely unheeded. Soon afterwards, desertion began, in the beginning in trickles, later in torrents. The main complaint was that it was height of folly on Babaji's part to ignore the voice of the masses and force a boycott down their throats. When Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala formed the ministry, after having won a massive mandate from both Sikhs and Hindus, Babaji's flock began to dwindle further. His denunciations of Sardar Barnala and his ministers as "traitors to the Panth" did not find any echo. Even the show of Sarbat Khalsa on January 26 this year within the Golden Temple complex did not help rehabilitate UAD in the eyes of Sikhs.

Rather, more fissures appeared, largely as a result of wrangles among the UAD, Damdami Taksal, All-India Sikh Students Federation (Manjit Singh faction) and the so-called five-man "Panthic Committee" appointed to run the community's "political and religious affairs." Each claimed supermacy and denounced the others. Then came cracks within AISSF which, led by young and educated men of zeal and devotion, was Babaji's main prop. Sardar Harinder Singh Kahlon, backed by Damdami Taksal and Panthic Committee, hoisted his flag of revolt against Babaji who stuck to the remaining AISSF debris. Now he has been left high and dry on the rocks by more desertions: Babaji shall live to rue the day when he chose to enter politics and tried to steal the limelight. Remaining in his Rode village, he might have been still revered as a father-figure, common to all and partisan to none. But it was not to be.

What is a Sikh ?

By : Sardar Raghbir Singh 'Bir'

Literally, the word "Sikh" means a student, one who is anxious to learn, a seeker of Truth; a seeker of divine knowledge. The true Sikh grooms his body, faces all temptations, all allurements of mammon, earn his living with the sweat of his brow, meets his domestic commitments, serves his family, his parents, his kith and kin and friends, his country and the human race—and yet, in thought, stands unaffected and disentangled. And in the course of his daily routine, he gives the first and foremost place to the problem of knowing his real Self. Whichever role he plays, the desire to understand the mystery of life keeps him fully occupied. He has full faith in his objective. He is, therefore, an embodiment of optimism and unshakable resolve.

No attractions of the world, no temptations, no allurements, no hurdles can deflect the innate desire of the true Sikh to realize God. He might suffer defeat temporarily, but he cannot be entirely conquered.

The Sikh has full faith in Guru Nanak—the same faith that the child has in its mother. He believes that while holding fast to Guru Nanak, he can find his way through the Vanity Fair, through the milling multitudes, through the dust and din without losing his way. He has full faith—not blind faith—in the Word of the Master. He strives to fully grasp the Word of the Master. He knows that without understanding, and without divine knowledge, our deeds cannot be flawless. The Sikh, therefore, despite his faith in the truth of the Word, is daring enough to try to understand it and to act upon it. He tests it on the touchstone of his own experience.

The Sikh knows, too, that his research is the most arduous of all researches in the world. Impatience and restiveness will not lead anywhere. He is, therefore, firm and unshakable as a rock in his perseverance. He pauses where he fails to follow the Master's Word. He prays for Light humbly, beseechingly, reverently, and waits patiently for response to his prayers. He knows that God's storehouse is bountiful, but each one of us receives gifts according to our individual circumstances, and fair needs. The Sikh, therefore, waits and watches like the true lover.

Hafiz has well said, "Some day you will be at one with God, if you have patience enough." The Sikh knows that he is to rise from the human level to that of

super-consciousness and these two levels are poles asunder. This gap has to be bridged and all the distance in between to be traversed. This cannot be done in a day or two—it would be a rare piece of luck if the objective is realized in a lifetime. Patience and faith are, therefore, his constant companions in his journey.

Failures do not deter the Sikh. The baptism of steel makes him a perfect soldier. He can resist, with the force of arms, falsehood, oppression & injustice. Similarly, he is constantly at war with his own Self, his lower nature, with his frailties and the manifold misfortunes that arise from such weaknesses. He hacks his way through sin, trampling it to forge his way ahead. The Sikh's mind is a battlefield where he ever battles with the old Adam in him.

Baptism, Sikh discipline, or *maryada*, recitation of the Word, *Kirtan*, or chanting and listening to God's praises, are all necessary. But the true Sikh must also know that all these are means to an end; they are not in themselves the goal. The central aim and aspiration of the Sikh is to see God, realize God to be one with God. He who is perfectly conscious of his end and aim, must, sooner or later, realize his objective.

At one time, I regarded the study of Sikh history, and listening to the tales of Sikh martyrs as the core of Sikhism and was prone to quiz and twit the reciters of the Word and lovers of *Nam*. As I advanced in spiritual enlightenment, I took more delight in the sacred Word than in the old Sikh chronicles. I left contented with listening to *Kirtan*, with Word-recitation, with *Gurdwara*-going, and with formal poring over the sacred Book. But this did not fully satisfy me. My soul hungered thirsted for abiding bliss.

He who was, is, and ever shall
be with us;
My soul yearns for Him, for
Him alone
Love for God ever abides
with us,
The Perfect, Merciful One
ever sustains us,
He fades not, nor can we do
without Him,
He dwells in all we see,
Oh, the Beautiful, All-wise
Sustainer of Beings!
God is Father, Brother,
Mother, and Son,
He is Life of my life; may all
I loved Him and He dwelt in
my heart.

(Continued on next page)

Bhai Lehna was the son of Pheru, a merchant of Mate di Sarai. He was a young man with a high sense of duty and possessed great physical strength. He was a worshipper of the mythological deity, Durga or Latan Wali. He visited the goddess every year, sang hymns in her praise, and danced in a frenzy of devotion. But with all his religious fervour, he felt an unsatiable hunger in his soul that aggravated from year to year.

Once, at Khadur, he happened to hear Guru Nanak's hymns in 'Asa Di Var' from Bhai Jodha. They awakened his emotions. He decided to visit Guru Nanak at Kartarpur and when he met him there he was very much impressed by his teachings and decided to stay with him. Many incidents are narrated regarding Bhai Lehna's devotion to the Guru. Once, when Guru Nanak was

(Continued previous page)

The Merciful One snapped as under the bonds of illusion, He cast His Gracious Look and made me His own; I remembered Him and all my ills were at an end, I dwelt at His feet and all was bliss, The Perfect One ever young and fresh

He sustains us within and without, Nanak has found God, The wealth of Nam hath God Vouchsafed to His devotee.

—Guru Arjan—Gaudi.

adi madh jo ant nibahai
so sejan mera man chahai
hari ki priti sada sang chale
dial purkh puran priti palai
binsat nahi chhod na jai
jah pekha tah rahia samai
sundar sugharh chatar jia data
bhai put pita prabh mata
jiwan pran adhar meri rasi
priti lai kar ridai nivasi
maia silak kati Gopal
kar apna lino nadar nihai
simar simar kate sabh rog
charan dhian sarab sukh bhog
puran purakh navtan niti bala
hari antar bahar sang rakhvala
kaho Nanak hari pad chin
sarab so nam bhagat kao din

—Guru Arjan—Gaudi.

Then I began to read one Word in a different manner. Intelligently and lovingly, I read the Sacred Book from end to end half a dozen times and I found two central, essential points, namely, God, and His realization through Nam. I should not say that it was an easy job, or perfectly smooth sailing. But all my labour, all my plodding was but a trifle as compared to the peace contentment, and bliss that I experienced. When I see people drudging and slaving for materialistic trifles, I congratulate myself on my rare, good fortune to have obtained a priceless boon for my efforts, which were by no means Herculean.

Guru Angad Dev

The Birth Anniversary of Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji falls on May 9

engaged in farming at Kartarpur, Bhai Lehna carried muddy grass on his head to feed the Guru's cattle, while other Sikhs had shrunk away detesting the task. The dripping of the moist mud from the grass soiled his new clothes. Once he brought a heavy load of salt from Khadur to Kartarpur for the Guru's *langar* without feeling any sense of indignity. He would wash his Master's clothes at night and have them dried before the crack of dawn. On Guru Nanak's asking, he did not object to the eating of a corpse that lay veiled on a pyre. The corpse, it is said, became a heap of delicious pudding, as soon as Bhai Lehna came forward to eat it. One winter night, when it was raining, the Guru asked his Sikhs to repair a part of the wall of his house which had collapsed. Everybody was silent except Lehna. He erected the wall single-handed. The Master expressed his dissatisfaction over the work he had done, and asked him to re-build the wall. Lehna obeyed the orders without grumbling.

One day during a Sikh gathering, Guru Nanak seated Lehna on his gaddi, placed five pice and a coconut in front of him and said to Bhai Buddha, "He is my successor: put a *tilak* on his forehead in token of his appointment to the Guruship." This being done, the Guru instructed his people to serve Angad, who, he said, was his very image. Guru Nanak's sons were unhappy over the decision, but they did not deserve the exalted position because of their self-centeredness. Guru Angad was worthy of the Guruship by virtue of his spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. Guru Nanak directed him to return to Khadur.

Bhai Lehna's evolution was perfect. He no longer remained separate from his Guru-God and became a part and parcel of him.

Bhai-Gurdas thus describes the succession of Guru Angad:

Angad got the same *tilak*, the same umbrella over his head, and was seated on the same true throne as Guru Nanak.

The seal in Guru Nanak's hand entered Guru Angad's and proclaimed his sovereignty.

He left Kartarpur, and went and lit the Guru's lamp in Khadur.

What was sown in the beginning hath germinated in this world; to offer another opinion was false cleverness. Lehna obtained the gift from Nanak, and it must

descend to the house of Amar Dass.

Shortly after the appointment of Guru Angad, Guru Nanak departed from this life on the tenth day of the light-half of the month of Asuj, Samvat 1595 (1538 A.D.) at Kartarpur. So Nanak, in a sense, actually incarnated in the body of Guru Angad.

Guru Angad cultivated humility and unflinching faith in the existence of God. He was an ideal disciple, who, with the help of Almighty God rose higher and higher. He confirmed and organized the system of *langar*, the common 'community kitchen'. This institution was a lesson in equality of mankind.

Sikhism is entirely based on spiritual considerations. According to Guru Angad, nearness to God or distance from Him depends on our own actions:

What men give they receive,
What they receive they had given.

They are born in hell or heaven according to their deeds.

(Guru Angad : Sarang Ki Var)

According to him, virtue becomes its own reward and evil its own punishment. Those who are given to evil ways are failures and thus earn pain and sorrow.

Even if one were to act in secrecy,

It shall be known all over the world,

One who acts in righteousness is known as righteous, and the sinner is known as sinful.

(Guru Angad : Var-Majh)

and

Though man is driven higher by the force of his acts, the nose-string is in the hands of the Master.

It is true, Nanak, where God giveth him the food there man eateth.

(Guru Angad : Sorath)

The Guru further says that fate is providence, the beneficent care of God for His creatures. He allots our share and also "watcheth over our actions and looketh after our deeds".

Nanak, be not anxious for Thy living.

Anxiety for us, is that of the Master,

Who created living beings even in water.

And there gave them their sustenance.

No shop is open there and no one runs a trade,

No commerce is there and nor any traffic.

Animals are the food of animals,

Such is the food that is given to them.

He taketh care of the creatures He created in the sea.

Nanak, feel not anxious for Thy sustenance.

Anxiety is for the Master Who Gave Thee Life.

(Guru Angad : Ramkali)

Guru Angad passed away from this transitory world in 1552. He carried on the duties of the Guru for twelve years, six months and nine days. During his Guruship, he asked his followers to serve and love their Guru and worship God. He popularized the Punjabi script, called Gurmukhi and recorded the utterances of Guru Nanak. Later on, they, along with his successors, were included in the *Adi Granth*. He made the Sikhs independent of the Hindu priestly class and contributed significantly towards the emergence of Sikhism as a distinct faith, separate from Hinduism.

He appointed Guru Amar Dass his successor on the throne of Guru Nanak and instructed him to live at Goindwal and guide the Sikh community.

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Deliberate Distortions of Sikh History-V

(A Rejoinder to the Book of Mr Kshitish "Storm in Punjab" by Sardar G.S. Chadha)

On page 45 of his book Mr. Kshitish has made another absurd remark "Before his death Guru Gobind had indicated his preference for Banda Bairagi as his successor. Banda's heart was filled with hatred and revenge" (underlining is mine). It is a hard fact that Guru Gobind Singh had never appointed any successor. He had issued an edict to his followers to worship Guru Granth Sahib as their Guru. According to some chronicles like *Maha Parkash* the Guruship was passed on to the Granth Sahib. According to Gur Sobha, the Guru said "I have bestowed the physical (or secular) Guruship on the Khalsa" and "The True Guru is the infinite Word, contemplation enable one to bear the unbearable".

The Great Guru further exhorted the Sikhs to have full faith in the Granth Sahib. According to him whosoever wanted to have his darshan he would search the Guru in Granth Sahib containing "the Eternal and limitless Word uttered with the Lord's light and is our Supreme Master".

Further, it is absurd to say that Banda's heart was filled with hatred and revenge. The Guru was not only a warrior but a holy man and a saint soldier also. How could he preach hatred for anyone? In his hymns he had preached *Saach kahon sun lio sabhe jin prem kio tin he prabhu pao* (I say truth that whoever loved (the humanity) he had attained the Kingdom of God).

The Wages of Oppression

He has made the following hasty comments which have depicted his jealous heart:—"It seems that as long as Sikhism was confined to spirituality, not only Hindus but even Muslims respected it and accepted it with full faith. But when it started taking interest in politics, it became the target of Muslim fury. Guru Gobind Singh did not get full support of the Hindu Kings of the hills because his troops tried to forcibly bring them round to his side. The Hindu population was looted and harassed. As a result the Hindu kings of Bilaspur, Jasova, Jasrota, Nalagarh and Dadwal collected 10,000 troops and joining Fateh Shah of Srinagar they engaged the 2000 Khalsa of Gobind Singh at Bhangani. If on this occasion, the Sadhora Governor Sayyad Shah had not helped the Guru, he might have lost his life. . . . After the Royal troops had withdrawn the Khalsa again started harassing

Hindu kings in order to enlist them on their side. Tired of this harassment, the Hindus collected 20,000 troops and with the help of the Sirhind Governor attacked Garhi in Anandpur and Keeratpur. Guru Gobind Singh had to take shelter in Anandpur fort".

Any person who is conversant with the Sikh history would never dare to make such wild and silly comments. It seems that either the said author of *Storm in Punjab* does not know the Sikhs' history or he has tried to malign the Sikhs with a malicious approach and denigrate this community's chivalry by distorting parts and misquoting episodes of bravery and thus prejudice the Hindus and Muslims who had very cordial relations with the Sikhs. Guru Gobind Singh had never harboured any enmity with any body. His struggle was always against injustice and tyranny, irrespective of the position of the perpetrator. This is proved from his own verses:—

"The House of Baba Nanak and that of Babar,
Both derive their authority from God Himself,
Recognize the former as supreme in religion,
And the latter as supreme in secular affairs".

This certainly is not the language of a man who thinks of the Moghal Government as an enemy, apprehends attacks from it, and thinks of radical changes in socio-religious matters as essential for self defence against such an enemy. But his experience of contact with the Hill Rajas probably taught him two things: their persistent hostility and the urgency of putting his own house in order. Here we have the real back ground of the creation of the Khalsa in 1699" (Refer to page 205 of A.C. Banerjee's 'Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh').

The factual position is that there had cropped up some misunderstanding in the minds of Hill Rajas due to the fact that Guru Gobind Singh had started using Ranjit Nagara (Drum), increased his armed adherents, improved their discipline, the construction of forts and collection of money etc, which appeared to the Hill Chiefs as symbols of his political ambition. They thought that the Guru aimed at Mulkigiri and jahandari (*Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol I, p. 62). This suspicion had created trouble between Raja Bhim Chand (Raja of Kahlur state) and the Guru during the latter's residence at Makhawal. Despite the Hill chiefs' internal intrigues and conflicts

they were not prepared to tolerate the presence of a strong rival inside their territorial base.

Besides those political rivalries there had appeared social and religious misgivings also. Orthodox Hinduism was deeply rooted in the Kangra hills; it had virtually remained unaffected by Islam, for neither Muslim political authority nor Muslim preachers ever found a hospitable field in that region. That society was dominated by the traditional caste system, which Sikhism had rejected. Later on, the differences between the Guru and the Hill Rajas were sharpened by the creation of the Khalsa. As stated earlier the Hill Rajas had harboured a rivalry against the Guru's House. The marriage of Bhim Chand's son with the daughter of Fateh Shah had approached. He sent an invitation to the Guru, who did not personally go but sent Diwan Nand Chand with presents. The Raja did not accept these presents. Fateh Shah was told by the groom's party to reject those presents of the Guru and also asked him that unless he joined hands with his brother princes to fight the Guru, that marriage of his daughter would be cancelled. Then these hill chiefs prepared for a major attack on their way back home.

When the Guru heard of that he marched his troops six miles ahead, towards a place called "Bhangani". The pathans who had joined the Guru's forces deceived him at the eleventh hour and joined the enemy's forces. The Muslim divine, Pir Budhu Shah whose disciples were those Pathans, got so much shocked that he presented himself for service along with his four sons, a brother and seven hundred followers. Both Hari Chand and Fateh Shah were killed in the battle. It is a recorded fact that Fateh Shah had provoked the Guru without any cause.

This battle was fought and won by the Guru in April, 1689. Raja Bhim Chand felt very jealous over Guru's growing power. However, he was advised by his counsellors to seek a rapprochement with the Guru in the interest of peace within his dominions and to put up a joint front against the Moghals. To an envoy sent by the Raja, the Guru informed that "I have no quarrel with any one. I want only to be left in peace to propagate the cause of 'Dharma'. My father gave his head to protect the religion of Hindus. But here am I, trying to infuse a new

spirit in this dying race, being refused cooperation from Hindu chiefs, and even resisted and attacked without any cause. My followers can not even buy for cash what they need from the surrounding villages. Such is an hostility generated against us. We have not aggressed against any one even once. But, certainly we mean now to defend our honour".

Again to that envoy the Guru told "In my house whosoever comes with friendly intent and in humility is received with open arms. We do not harbour grudge against those who seek to be friendly. Once a Brahmin complained to the Guru that some Pathans had abducted his bride. The Guru sent an expeditionary force of one hundred cavalry under his young son Ajit Singh, to restore the Brahmin's bride. Ajit Singh fell on the Pathan in the night like lightning and produced the culprits along with their booty before the Guru. The woman was restored to her husband and the Pathans punished for their misdeeds. This is how the Guru had helped the members of other communities and especially those who were in need of help. There was, therefore, no question of harassing the Hindus by Guru's Sikhs at any stage.

Attack On Identity

"Hunger for power: Under this heading Mr. Kshitish (author of the Book under review) has tried to fabricate many things to belittle the identity of the Sikh religion and betray his own conscience by misrepresenting facts. The nasty remarks printed on page 32 of his book are reproduced as under:

"It is not necessary to repeat that of the 10 Sikh gurus only Gobind Singh had long hair, and even he did not issue any edict that in future only long haired would be called Sikhs.

Then why is it in the S.G.P.C. there is not a single Sikh with normal hair? There is not a single normal haired granthi (priest) in the gurdwaras, not for appearance's sake. For purposes of census and conscription in the Army, when the British defined Sikhs as those keeping long hair, why was this definition not opposed or criticized? A Sikh with normal hair is not considered a Sikh at all."

Before I deal with such a fallacious, baseless and insulting statement made in a most irresponsible and contemptuous manner I must make a protest to the S.G.P.C. Amritsar, dealing with gurmata, as to why no action has

(Continued on page 8)

Menace of Corruption in Universities

By Dr. Amrik Singh

This is a true story; only the identity of the university is not being revealed.

As happens ever so often, the vice-chancellor's son was an undergraduate student at the same university where the father was the chief executive and academic officer. There is nothing odd or unusual about it. In any case one cannot expect the children of the vice-chancellor to go to another university just because their father happens to be occupying a particular position. But one does expect of the vice-chancellor to keep scrupulously clear of any action, overt or covert, where his name can be linked with that particular examination for which any one of his children is a candidate.

This is an elementary precaution and is observed by almost any one who wishes to avoid controversy. In this particular case however it was not observed and, as could have been anticipated, there was a whispering campaign to start with and a little later it acquired the dimensions of an academic scandal. Once that happened, the chancellor had no choice except to have the matter enquired into. A retired judge of the high court from a distant state was asked to conduct the enquiry and it went against the said vice-chancellor.

Several months went by however and no action was taken. Meanwhile the student moved from the undergraduate to the postgraduate stage. Since the university followed the semester system at the postgraduate level, there were further complaints against that student within the first six months. Still no action was taken. A stage came when the students went on strike and so did the teachers. Eventually the whole matter went out of hand, so to speak. Even then the vice-chancellor was not asked to go.

He did go however, somewhat belatedly though, when a successor to him was appointed at the expiry of his term which was allowed to extend itself by quite some months. A visit to that university today would convince even a casual visitor that nobody has the slightest respect either for the officers or the vice-chancellor or the chancellor of the university. Each one of them is looked upon as a crook, to put it bluntly, and if students continue to study and teacher continue to teach it is more out of compulsion or habit than a freely exercised choice.

The question to ask is how long can one go on with this kind of thing. We seem to be functioning in a kind of situation where everybody seems to be cheating everybody; he who does not cheat is looked upon as someone who does not know how the game is played. This may be putting it somewhat strongly but feelings like this are fairly widespread and this fact needs to be acknowledged. It also needs to be acknowledged that the source of this state of affairs is the way political life is conducted. Has any one ever heard of any politician being convicted of any major or minor offence, even though it is widely believed that quite a number of them are guilty of serious lapses?

In this particular case, the vice-chancellor was not hauled up and indeed let off the hook for the simple reason that he had strong political backing. That is how he was appointed in the first instance and that is how he managed to survive in office despite all that could be proved (in terms of legal requirements) to convict him. When this happens day after day and in institution after institution, most people draw their own conclusions. The most obvious of them are that what you do or do not do is not important; what is important is who you are and who patronises you. When decisions get taken on the basis of such calculations, social and political life is bound to get politicised. Equally inevitably, some of the academics who are interested in a quick rise in their career are bound to feel tempted to play politics. Their assumption seems to be more or less along these lines; if other can do it, why not I?

What is to be done in this situation? Evidently what is happening in the universities is a part of the wider social and political process that has been taking place for quite some time. The polity is collapsing, if one may put it that way, and one can see it happening in front of one's eyes. Instead of there being any improvement, things are getting worse and worse. This sounds like a counsel of despair but it is only a recognition of the reality which we encounter everyday. Whether we can recognise the reality for what it is, a matter partly of perception and partly how optimistic or otherwise we are. Some people are more optimistic than others. They like to believe that, somehow, we would muddle through. They may be right but my own perception is that things are not getting better. Not only that, the

country is in the grip of a social and political crisis. How the crisis manifests itself and how long it will take before the breaking point is reached are matters of detail. What needs to be recognised is that what is happening in the universities is a part of the general political crisis.

If this line of argument is correct, it gives us some understanding of what is happening. Understanding is one thing however and devising a strategy to cope with the situation is another. Even after having understood the nature of the problem, the question still remains how to cope with the situation. Can one co-exist with the situation as it takes an ugly turn day after day or can one step aside and try to look at the problem in a somewhat detached manner? Equally important, can one be really detached in a situation like this?

The plain answer to these questions is that while detachment in any degree or manner is exceedingly difficult, an academic has no choice except to detach himself from what is happening around him. Most other activities of life can be carried on even while feeling frustrated or cynical. Teaching however is different. Teaching demands involvement as well as commitment. To some extent every professional activity demands these qualities. But teaching is different from each one of them for the simple and decisive reason that other activities can be carried on in a slipshod manner or slowed down or performed indifferently without anyone all the time sitting in judgment on what is happening.

In the case of teaching, a remedy is available. It is not said with reference to students withdrawing from the teaching situation. That does not happen and is not to be discussed seriously. The real unnerving experience in teaching is when students attend the class but show no regard or respect for the teacher. There can be no worse humiliation for a teacher than the fact that even though in formal terms he is performing in the classroom, in real terms his performance is not taken seriously.

The growing menace of corruption in universities must be seen in this light. Corruption is a fact of life almost everywhere. As could have been anticipated, it has now spread its tentacles into university life also. In a sense, corruption and politicisation are two sides of the same coin. With growing corruption

enters politicisation and the two reinforce each other. Another way of saying the same thing would be that politicking cannot be controlled without curbing corruption.

Whether as a result of extraneous influence or in pursuit of their own interests, quite a number of academics choose to indulge in politicking. Their mode of functioning without question puts the university on the same plane as the market-place. Once this starts happening, corruption is not too far behind.

Can the situation be reversed? The plain answer is in the negative. This answer may be qualified somewhat however. It is possible to bring about some marginal changes. For instance, things were not so bad a couple of decades ago. Through a little concerted effort one can go back to that situation, unsatisfactory though it was. The difference between the situation then and now is that a couple of decades ago while politics was beginning to penetrate the system, it had not yet led to the next stage of deterioration which is the existence of widespread corruption. Therefore, if corruption can be controlled and indeed combated, we would have taken the first important step towards recovery. It is in this sense that corruption is the most immediate danger to academic life.

While the general atmosphere in which politicking takes place is created by politicians, corruption in academic life is introduced through the instrumentality of academics. What needs to be understood however is that while academics may sometimes be the instruments of corruption, they are invariably its victims in the long run. Some individuals here and there may stand to gain from it but as a whole it is the profession which suffers in prestige and public esteem. Furthermore, nobody else has a vested interest in curbing corruption. Whether they are clear-sighted enough to recognise their own interest is a question that needs to be answered by everyone in the profession.

Courtesy—"Telegraph", Calcutta

GURMUKHI SANGIT
ENGLISH-PUNJABI PORTNIGHTLY

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Mishra Panel's in-Camera Hoax

By : Nandita Haskar

November 1984. For three days and three nights we watched our city in flames. We saw shops, godowns, schools and homes of Sikhs being looted and burnt. And we saw gruesome murders of whom were very poor and lived in resettlement colonies. Most of us remained silent spectators to the violence which left more than 2,000 dead and 50,000 homeless. However there were a significant number of citizens who tried to intervene and stop the murders, the looting and the arson and others who tried to use their contacts in high places to get official help. There was no response from the police, the administration or the Government. Even the army seemed unable to impose curfew.

On the second day some concerned citizens tried to mobilize people for a peace march and these citizens formed themselves into the Nagrik Ekta Manch. The manch helped start relief camps, gathered clothes, rations, contacted doctors and talked to the victims. Again and again we were struck by the fact that the victims clearly remembered the persons who had looted and set fire to their homes. They remembered the faces of those who had murdered their husbands, brothers and sons. They recognized the criminals and knew their names.

We started to collect the names and cross check with others. One research scholar made a systematic list of the accused with the names and addresses of the criminals, the source of information and a cross reference. These lists, made independently by various volunteers of the Nagrik Ekta Manch and others had one thing in common—the names were invariably of local metropolitan councillors, community leaders, members of Parliament and a minister or two. All of them from the ruling party.

The question arose in our minds: Could that terrible violence have been organized? Was it planned?

Six different fact-finding teams carried out independent investigations to try and answer that question. The first report to be published was based on a study of the violence of Sultanpuri by four professors of Delhi University: an economist, a political scientist and a psychologist. The four hold very different political views but on this they were unanimous, that important and senior members of the ruling

party were actively involved in the carnage.

The Nagrik Ekta Manch produced two reports based on the findings at two of the relief camps they had been running. The reports were not released to the public. Both reports have listed the names of persons involved in the looting, arson and killings, and these persons were members of the ruling party.

In November the Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and the Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) released their findings in the now famous report entitled *Who are the Guilty?* This report clearly stated that the anti-Sikh violence was not a spontaneous riot but "the outcome of a well organized plan marked by acts of both deliberate commissions and omissions by important politicians of the Congress (I) at the top and by authorities in the administration." And in support of its finding there is a list which is annexed to the report of more than 200 persons alleged to have instigated violence or protected the criminals. The list includes names of MPs and ministers.

In January 1986 two more reports were published and released to the public, both of which concluded that important members of the ruling party were involved in the carnage. These two reports were based on the investigations by prominent citizens of our country, including a former chief justice of the Supreme Court and retired ICS officers.

The demand for a commission of inquiry went unheeded. Why did the Government not want to know the cause of death of more than 2,000 citizens? After all, commissions of inquiry are set up with sitting judges of the high court even in cases of one death. The Government was strangely silent but members of the ruling party were busy issuing statements in the press denouncing these reports and calling us either CIA agents or anti-nationals. There were threats of defamation suits and even physical revenge.

However, under pressure the Government did order an inquiry into the role of the police, to be conducted by the then Additional Commissioner of Police (CID), V.P. Marwah.

The PUDR and the PUCL filed a writ petition in the Delhi High Court asking the court to appoint a commission as is done in public interest litigation cases.

Annexed to our affidavits and statements of victims and others setting out the facts and naming the people involved. We—Gobinda Mukhoty, senior counsel and I—appeared day after day to face every kind of insult and humiliation. The judges would not believe our affidavits, one of them questioned our bona fides and those of our organizations and finally they dismissed our petition in a 57-page judgement ending with a Sanskrit sloka: "Mother and motherland are greater than heaven."

The campaign against the PUDR and PUCL continued and it began to appear that we were responsible for the state of affairs in the Punjab. We were blamed for providing a hit list to the terrorists. The reports could not be printed because the printer got a mysterious visit from a policeman. But we were overwhelmed by the warm response we got from Sikhs, both in the villages and in towns. They said our report was largely responsible for convincing them that they were not victims of Hindu violence but of the ruling party's bizarre politics.

And then all of a sudden the Government announced that it was setting up a commission of inquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act. Justice Ranganath Mishra, a sitting judge of the Supreme Court was appointed to look into the allegations with regard to the incidents of organized violence which took place in Delhi following the assassination of the late prime minister, Indira Gandhi. That was in July, 1985.

Eighteen long months had passed since the November violence. None of the accused had been punished and the victims were living in constant fear. All those who had been active in relief and rehabilitation work felt it was their responsibility to assist the commission. They took time off from their work and collected affidavits, and gathered material to place before the judge. The PUDR-PUCL filed an affidavit annexing their report and stating that they would be willing to assist the commission. Senior citizens formed the Citizens Justice Committee headed by former Chief Justice Sikri with the sole purpose of helping the commission arrive at the truth.

Justice Ranganath Mishra did not want our help. He did not allow either the PUDR or PUCL to be parties on a technical ground and Nagrik Ekta Manch was given mere observer status.

The Citizens Justice Committee was allowed to be a party. But he allowed three phoney organizations to intervene despite the fact they could not establish their bona fides. These were: Vidhi Chetna, Citizens for Truth and Citizens Committee for Harmony. He also allowed the Arya Samaj to be a party.

Next, Justice Mishra declared that the proceedings before the commission would be in camera. The press was not allowed to report.

It was with this background that the commission began to record the testimonies of citizens in January. I represented the Nagrik Ekta Manch.

There were nine sessions altogether in which witnesses (victims and others) were called to give their evidence. The Union of India and the Delhi Administration failed to produce any witnesses. Only the Citizens Justice Committee and Nagrik Ekta Manch witnesses came.

The other parties also failed to adduce a scrap of evidence. They had filed hundreds of affidavits, all of which stated that there was no incidence of organized violence and that the local Congress (I) leaders helped in maintaining peace and harmony. No witness came in support of these affidavits, except one. And he came to tell the commission that he had not filed the affidavits and the signature at the bottom of the affidavit was not his. Justice Mishra ordered an inquiry into the incident. Three months have passed.

Only a few selected Nagrik Ekta Manch witnesses were called. The advocates for the Union of India and the Delhi Administration spent their time in questioning the witnesses about their bona fides and those of the Nagrik Ekta Manch. Neither they nor the judge asked anything about the material placed before them with regard to the organized nature of violence. On one occasion when a witness (the wife of senior naval officer and a volunteer in the relief camps) said she would like to explain how she had compiled the evidence, Justice Mishra said he would call her to his chamber some time later. So he seems to be conducting an in-camera inquiry within an in-camera inquiry.

And after nine sessions, without calling all the witnesses, Justice Mishra asked the Citizens Justice Committee to address their final arguments. He said his investigation machinery had

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carried out an independent investigation but the results of this were not given to the Citizens Justice Committee.

The Citizens Justice Committee asked the commission to summon those who had been named as being involved in the violence so that the committee could cross examine them. Besides Section 8B of the Commission of Enquiry Act makes it compulsory for the commission to hear all "persons likely to be prejudicially affected." Neither police officers nor the politicians alleged to be involved have been summoned.

The Citizens Committee was not given access to vital documents and was told that Ved Marwah's report was never completed.

Under these circumstances the Citizens Justice Committee decided to walk out after submitting their reasons in a 17-page document which ends thus: "The CJC was informed that in the month of April '86, it would be required to address its arguments. The CJC is really at a loss as to how it can discharge this duty when it finds that in all vital fields of inquiry the CJC is being excluded from its course and conduct."

Even the PUDR and PUCL had not been called to give their evidence. That left the Nagrik Ekta Manch. We were committed to the inquiry. We wanted it. But under the circumstances, the Nagrik Ekta Manch could serve no useful purpose except to provide legitimacy to a commission which had been violating all principles of natural justice. I was instructed to walk out.

I submitted the reasons in a small application. As I walked out I felt very tired and empty. But my conscience was clear.

Courtesy—"Sunday Mail"

(Continued from page 5)

been so far taken against such defamatory and derogatory remarks. Democracy does not enjoin upon any person to assail the identity of the faith of a particular community. And in the case of minority communities they can only exist if necessary protection is afforded to their members for keeping their fundamentals alive.

Unfortunately, what is happening is that Sikh community is constantly being attacked by Hindu fanatics without any checking or curb from the Government. It is preposterous to say that long hairs were not kept by first nine gurus. Before the regime of Muslim rulers every Hindu used to keep long hair. Shri Ram Chander, Krishna and Paras Ram had long hair. During Ram Lila long hair of these Avatars (gods) are quite visible.

There is a legend that when Ram Chander Jee returned home after winning Sita in the 'Swamabhar' Paras Ram who got enraged came to fight against Ram Jee. Lakshman got angry and loudly uttered "tell me whether I should kill you, deport you or cut your knot of long hair". Cutting of hair knot was tantamount to beheading. This proves that Paras Ram had also grown long hair. Take the case of Balmiki and two sons of Shri Ram Chander, all are shown with long hair on their head. How is it? Why are they shown with long hair not only during Ram-Lila but in their pictures also. All the Rishis used to have long hair.

In fact the Guru had issued edicts for keeping in tact all the five 'kakkas' and the myth is created by the said author with an ulterior motive to sow the seeds of hatred against the Sikhs by making false allegations.

(To be Continued)

Sub-division status for Abohar

Abohar, a sub-tehsil of Ferozepur district whose linguistic link with Haryana in territorial dispute with Punjab was snapped by Mathew Commission's recommendation, was raised to a sub division at a function presided over by the Chief Minister, Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala.

The higher administrative status of the biggest cotton mandi of the state was evidently a gift to the people of the area who came in a large number to listen to Sardar Barnala at a public meeting, he addressed later.

The inaugural function of the subdivision and the public meeting was an Akali Dal-BJP affair with the Congress virtually staying away from the proceedings. Abohar is the home town of the Lok Sabha speaker, Mr Balram Jakhar, whose son, Mr Sajjan Kumar, was unseated in the constituency by Mr. Arjun Singh, BJP, in the Vidhan Sabha election last year.

Sardar Barnala said he had fulfilled the promise he had made to Mr. Arjun Singh two months ago. The sub-division status would open the gates for prosperity for the town.

He said Haryana's claim over the Abohar-Fazilka areas had created "apprehensions" in the mind of the people "but we were never worried. We knew that the areas had no linguistic contiguity to Haryana."

The Chief Minister said Punjab fought the territorial battle not with swords but with arguments and won. Abohar was a part of Punjab and would remain so in

future despite the "tactics" of its claimants.

Referring to demands made by Mr. Arjun Singh and others for development works in the area, Sardar Barnala said a big fruit-processing project would soon be launched at Abohar. He would take up with the Centre the demand for rail link between Fazilka and Abohar. The town would have a government College provided land and building were provided for it by the residents.

The Chief Minister said Punjab was fighting another battle for every drop of its water. The people of Punjab were upset at the "snatching" of its water by others. So far as Punjab's calculations were concerned the state had no surplus. The water of Punjab would benefit its land more than that of the neighbouring state.

Sardar Barnala said he would not mind raising the status of Abohar to a district when Punjab got 100 adjoining villages from Haryana on the basis of linguistic contiguity.

He alleged that Haryana demanded Punjab's areas on the basis of religion creating communal rifts, the Punjab Government would make every arrangement to teach Hindi in the area.



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Projects in memory of M. Ranjit Singh

Statue to be installed in Delhi

The Punjab government has approved a number of projects to highlight the secular character of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with a view to strengthen the national integration programme in the country.

At a meeting of organising committee to observe Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death anniversary falling on June 29 next held in Chandigarh on April 24, under the presidency of Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala, chief minister decided to seek the help of political parties, social and voluntary organisations in propagating the secular character of the administration during Maharaja Ranjit Singh's regime.

A Ranjit Singh chair would be set up at Guru Nanak Dev university at Amritsar. A renowned historian would be engaged to deliver lectures in different universities of the country on the life and times of the Maharaja.

A sub-committee consisting of Sardar Natha Singh Dalam, minister for public relations, Dr Gurdial Singh Dhillon MP, Mr Brij Bhushan Mehra MLA and Sardar Kirpal Singh MLA would contact the Lt-Governor of Delhi seeking allotment of a suitable site at Delhi to instal statue of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sardar Barnala had desired that a site near Gurudwara Bangla Sahib would be appropriate.

The Chief Minister told the meeting that the Ranjitgarh project for setting up a modern town near Phillaur would be acce-

lerated by involving private organisations.

Sardar Dalam disclosed that a light and sound programme on different aspects of Maharaja's life and secular outlook would be held at different places in Punjab and also in Delhi.

Four books authored by Dr. Gobind Singh Mansukhani, Sardar Khushwant Singh, Mr F.S. Waheedudin and by Marg Publications of Bombay on Maharaja Ranjit Singh would be distributed in large numbers to libraries.

Sardar Dalam said that a national level football tournament would be organised.

Those who attended the meeting included Dr Gurdial Singh Dhillon MP, Mr Balramji Dass Tandon, Mr Hit Abilashi, Mr Mohan Lal, Sardar Harbhajan Singh, all former ministers. Dr Baldev Parkash, president Punjab BJP, Mr Brij Bhushan Mehra MLA, Mr Gopi Chand, president Durgiana committee, Amritsar, Sardar Kirpal Singh president Chief Khalsa Dewan, Sardar Jagjit Singh MLA, Lt-Gen. Gurbachan Singh, Lt-Col. Gulcharan Singh, Dr S.S. Bal, Vice-Chancellor GND University, Mufti-Fuzil-ur-Rehman, Mr Veda Vyasa, Mrs Mona Ghulam Qadir and Mrs Phoolan Rani.

Congress Leaders Fanning Communalism

Eleven Akali MLAs and senior Akali leaders Surjan Singh Thekedar and Manjit Singh Khaira asked Punjab Pradesh Congress chief Beant Singh to explain the stand of the Punjab Congress vis-a-vis the interests of Punjab.

Reacting sharply to reports about Mr Sat Pal Kapoor, a senior Congress leader and member of the AICC, having led a delegation to Justice E.S. Venkatramiah pleading for the transfer of Patiala, Samana and other Punjabi-speaking areas to Haryana, they said the action showed that an influential faction of the Punjab Congress was actively working against the interests of the State.

"In connivance with Mr Bhajan Lal, these Congress leaders are fanning communalism by asking Hindus to give Hindi as their mother tongue", these leaders said adding that Mr Sat Pal "is a Trojan Horse" within the Punjab Congress. If he was not immediately expelled from the organisation, the people of Punjab would be justified in presuming that the Punjab Congress was hand in glove with the anti-Punjab and communal forces.

The signatories to the written statement were besides Surjan Singh Thekedar, Sardar Manjit Singh Khaira, general secretary, Akali Dal, Sardar Hari Singh Zira, Prof. Prem Singh Chandumajra, Sardar Gobind Singh Kanjhla, Capt. Kanwaljit Singh, Sardar Jasdev Singh Sandhu, Sardar Kundan Singh Patag, Sardar Baldev Singh Mann, Sardar Bachitter Singh, Sardar Arjan Singh Litt and Sardar Amarjit Singh.

Dr Johl takes over as Vice-Chancellor of PAU

Ludhiana, April 23: Dr S.S. Johl, Senior Professor of Economics has taken over as Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab Agricultural University today for two months.

Dr Johl was formally introduced by Dr Sukhdev Singh to the officers and heads of departments in a specially convened meeting. He expressed the hope that Dr Johl will get full cooperation from the faculty of the University.

While addressing the meeting Dr Sukhdev Singh emphasised that this University should switch over to Semester System of teaching in place of the present Trimester System. He advised the Deans and Heads of Depart-

ments to complete this process at the earliest possible. He has also constituted two committees for improving the working of the University Library and Store Purchase Organization.

Dr Sukhdev Singh stressed that all the officers and Heads of Departments must take keen interest in the administration of the University and ordered to implement the concept of decentralisation of power. He disclosed that more emphasis will be laid to strengthen the regional research stations in order to provide solutions to be specific problems of agriculture.

Dr Sukhdev Singh will be on leave for two months and is going abroad.

Akali Dal meeting on May 9

It has been decided to make functional the Akali Dal head office in the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar as part of the efforts to strengthen the party and its wings.

A meeting of the party's officebearers, district Presidents (there are 18) and conveners of half a dozen wings has been called in Amritsar on May 9.

The party's Office Secretary,

Sardar Gurdev Singh, said that at the meeting a strategy would be evolved with regard to the holding of public meetings in different districts to increase the party's influence.

After the formation of the Akali Government, the party head office has virtually fallen into oblivion and the centre of activity has shifted to Chandigarh.

India Book House Education Trust to donate books

India Book House Education Trust will give away books worth Rs 8,00,000 to schools, ball bhawans, public libraries and government hospitals.

Under the scheme, any recognised schools, ball bhawan, public library or paediatrics department of hospitals (where children spend a lot of time during convalescence) can receive a gift packet of books worth Rs. 200/- free of charge.

The delivery of the packets can be taken from the office of

India Book House Trust, Mahalaxmi Chamebrs, Bhulabhai Desai Road, Bombay 400 026 or from any of offices of India Book House in Calcutta, Patna, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Pune and Trivandrum against a receipt on the letterhead of the institution, library or hospital, duly signed on its behalf by an authorised signatory.

Those who would like to obtain the copies by post will have to send Rs. 32/- towards postage and packing charges in addition to the advance receipt.

Musical Evening

"Gayakee", an organisation of Indian music lovers, in collaboration with Urdu Academy, Delhi organised a Musical Evening of *Geet* and *Ghazal* by the versatile singer Sardar Sahib Singh, last week, at Himachal Bhawan, New Delhi, under the presidentship of Shri T.P. Jhunjhunwala. The famous urdu poet and patron of literature, Kanwar Mohinder Singh Bedi, while inaugurating the function commended Sahib Singh for his devotion to improve his talent and provide best compositions of the best writers. Sardar Gurdial Singh, High Commissioner of Uganda in India was the chief guest.

Earlier the President of Gayakee, Mr. Mohd Shafi Qureshi appreciated the constant endeavours of Sahib Singh to display his excellence in India and abroad. The humorous poet Shri Surinder Sharma compered.

In his performance Sardar Sahib Singh did well to render *Geet* and *Ghazal* of renowned poets like Dr. Iqbal, Jigar Muradabadi, Chanan Gobind Puri and others to present rare feat of melody and expression. Meaningful couplets vibrated between high and low pitch. Orchestra provided befitting accompaniment.

—Piara Singh M.A.

Letters to the Editor

Punjab Accord: Can it be Revived?

Sir,—All well-wishers of Punjab who had set great store by the Punjab Accord must have been profoundly dismayed by the highly dangerous goings-on in Haryana, and the still more dangerous talk by Devilal of abrogating clauses 7 and 9 of the Punjab Accord and reverting to the 1970 award of Mrs. Gandhi which had bestowed Chandigarh on Punjab in lieu of the transfer of Abohar-Fazilka to Haryana. Such wild and irresponsible utterings can create grave misgivings in the minds of Punjabis about the future of the Accord, and cannot but cause the most acute distress to all patriotic forces in the country. With Punjab Congress (I) and Punjabi Hindus signalling their silent approval of Haryana's illegitimate demands, an essentially linguistic problem has been converted into a potentially dangerous communal divide which bodes ill for the nation.

Far more ominous and fraught with danger is the fact that what is very much a national issue is being shortsightedly viewed, not only by the Congress (I) but by the opposition parties as well, in terms of Haryana versus Punjab. Herein lies the tragedy of a fast deteriorating situation which may well lead to the total scrapping of the Accord and ignite our entire North-west frontier to flash-point.

Poor Punjab Accord: Who will not shed a tear for it today? Once the darling of the nation, it has been foully abused and persistently and brutally flogged by Bhajanlal and Devilals. The sad part of the story is that there is as yet no sign on the horizon of the Centre coming to its rescue. Under the combined onslaught of the dark and sinister forces which today hold sway in Haryana, and with the Centre, looking on as a passive and helpless spectator, the historic Accord might well, before long, breathe its last. And with all the magic of his legendary charm, Rajiv Gandhi might find it a trifle difficult to breathe life afresh into its ashes.

Can the Accord be still revived, or is it already too late? There is but one way now to resuscitate the Accord and restore to it some semblance of life and credibility. And that is for the Centre to take a firm hold of itself and effect an immediate transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab in lieu of some Hindi-speaking

areas other than Abohar-Fazilka being given to Haryana. This, at the moment, looks like asking for the moon. A complete paralysis of will grips the Centre as it toys with the idea of appointing another Commission on the lines suggested by Justice Mathew.

A word about the shrill clamour that has been building up for some time for President's rule in Punjab. The Congress (I) as a party to the Accord should be doing all it can to strengthen all pro-Accord forces including the Barnala Government. Instead the Punjab Congress (I) has been playing the very opposite of a constructive role, and is right now whipping up emotions to force the Centre's hand for the dismissal of Barnala Government. The plain truth is that all talk of President's rule at the present juncture is not only puerile and misplaced, but highly mischievous. On the contrary, this is the time for extending the fullest backing to the beleaguered Barnala Government which is tackling the herculean task of containing and ultimately eradicating terrorism in a common endeavour on behalf of the whole nation. Given the realities on the ground, Barnala remains our best bet; his obvious failings notwithstanding—the more so in view of the "hidden" alien hand behind this menace being no longer a matter of speculation or conjecture.

And finally, let the cynics and sceptics who never tire of focusing attention on Barnala's weakness and inadequacy, and who have been insistently and rather loudly prompting him to do something drastic to curb terrorist violence, listen to the voice of sanity, and reason in the cool and calm assessment of the Prime Minister. In a candid interview with a Bombay Weekly, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has said: "The terrorists did not disappear on the 25th July (the day of the Accord was signed), nor did we expect them to do so. I give them at least another couple of years".

If Mr. Gandhi with the might of India and the combined will and resolve of the nation behind him cannot guarantee the overnight disappearance of this terrible phenomenon, why blame poor Barnala? He is grappling manfully with a situation which is certainly not his own creation.

—Prabhjot Singh Chopra
Bombay

Tug of war/words

Sir,—I have painfully read the statements of Shri Bhajan Lal and Sardar Balwant Singh on the issue of Punjab Accord. One day Shri Lal says, "We will get 1200 villages in lieu of Chandigarh, whereas the next day he offers 24000 acres of land from Haryana in lieu of the city of Chandigarh. In reply Sardar Balwant Singh said that they would request the Venkatramiah Commission to award Haryana an area equivalent to 40% of the Capital project, which is roughly only 8000 acres (according to the ratio determined by the Shah Commission). This tussle of 'give and take' seems to be ending in fiasco the principle clauses of the Accord. The Accord has almost become a mockery. Where will this tug of war end only God knows. It is a pity that Shri Bhajan Lal in order to satisfy his ego has not given up his old claim of Fazilka and Abohar and 85 other villages in that belt. He seems to be more worried to score over his rivals than actually doing anything good to the state or the country.

In his write-up "Agenda for Rajiv Gandhi-II" (I.E. 26-4-86) a remarkable statement has been made by M.J.D. Sethi: "That the

failure to implement the Gandhi-Longowal Accord has been directly responsible for the accentuation of terrorism and build-up of the political crisis". He further said "As the crisis deepens further, the forces opposed to the P.M. and the Barnala Government will do their utmost to create new difficulties".

The statement holds to be very true. Hurdles are being created in the smooth implementation of the "Accord". An impartial view of the whole situation will surely lead us to an irresistible conclusion that Bhajan Lal's statements are doubtlessly fanning communalism. Sardar Balwant Singh does not seem to be wrong to say that "By raising such issues Mr. Bhajan Lal is trying to build up a blind hatred for the Sikhs and Punjab which lead to strengthening of separatist forces. I think the best course would be that the Centre should ask these political leaders to stop making such injurious public statements till the boundary Commission has not finished its job.

—G.S. Chadha

New Delhi.

Compensation to Haryana Irrelevant

Sir,—It is not the "clash of vital interests between Punjab and Haryana which expectedly created hurdles in the way of speeding implementation of the accord," as writes Shri B.K. Chum, (Indian Express, 6 April 1986.) In reality, it is the Congress (I)'s prejudice against Punjab that is the biggest hurdle.

If one looks back, it will be seen that ever since 1947 A.D., the Congress (of any shade) has always worked against the interests of the Punjab—whether it is the demarcation of a Punjabi-speaking state, the use of the Punjab river waters, control of the Bhakra-Nangal Project, allocation of funds, etc.

The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah, in order not to annoy the Muslims, had gone back on the promises he had made with Guru Gobind Singh before the Emperor's coming to power. Similarly, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has not implemented the Accord reached with Sant Harchand Singh Longowal for the fear of antagonising his co-religionists, because, as Chum correctly writes that even he "cannot afford.. (his).. survival to be threatened." Self, therefore, has been coming in the way of national interests.

The Centre's decision "to go

whole hog to help the Barnala Ministry" is limited to the spoken word only. In fact Sardar Barnala's hands have been weakened by the non-implementation of the Accord. Had Shri Rajiv Gandhi stuck to his word, acted boldly and given Chandigarh to Punjab on 26th January 1986, the present state of affairs in the Punjab would not have arisen. In view of the Mathew Commission's report the question of compensation for Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh becomes irrelevant. But then how can Congress (I) think and act for the good of Punjab!

—Lt Col. Gulcharan Singh
Jullundhar (Retd.)

Panel to Review Gurdwara Act

The Government of Punjab has appointed an eight-member committee to review the proposed All-India Gurdwara Act. The first meeting is scheduled for May 7.

Other members are Dr Attar Singh, Sardar G.S. Grewal, Sardar Narinder Singh, Sardar Ajit Singh Sarhadi, Sardar Manjit Singh Khaira, Giani Lal Singh, and Dr Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia.

Mothers have no say in children's career

Indian mothers have little or no say in determining the career for their sons or daughters, reports UNI.

The father continues to play a dominant role in Indian families, says a study on vocational choices of young graduates/post-graduates conducted by the Foundation for Organisational Research.

The study, which covered 4,108 graduates and postgraduates from all over the country, has shown that only 19.2 per cent of the respondents made their own choices. As many as 18.9 per cent of the respondents were guided by their fathers.

A generational change in the educational and vocational patterns is also clearly discernible. While 67.1 per cent of the grandfathers had studied only up to high school or were illiterates, today, 69 per cent of the fathers have studied up to high school or even graduation. Illiterate fathers are now only 7.4 per cent compared to 33.2 per cent grandfathers.

Occupational inheritance is on the decline. Young graduates are moving away from the occupation of their parents.

A major change in vocations has also taken place in a shift from agriculture to services. Only 12 per cent of the fathers opted for agriculture compared to 23 per cent grandfathers.

The study says that 69.7 per cent of the respondents are not only critical of the vocational guidance system, but feel that there is little or no vocational guidance in schools.

The study took 31.2 per cent of the respondents from the rural areas for the sample survey.

Money provides the least source of inspiration to the young people. It says, today the most important things young people look for in a job are opportunities to use special abilities and aptitudes, scope for advancement and utilisation of creative and altruistic feelings for the benefit of society. For the public school English medium products, however, social status seems to be the most important concern.

Women covered by foundation give a relatively lower importance to leadership according to the study.

Good luck is considered an important factor in career growth. But not much importance is attached to having contacts or knowing influential people.

The foundation has found that spiritual values among the

Indian youth are on the decline.

Stating that females do not have a passion for achieving things, the study says that females show a lower concern for knowledge and also affiliations like "earning a good name and reputation", survival and security and, peace. Nevertheless, the Indian female continues to have a high regard for moral values.

Though women are increasingly taking to jobs, the concept that they are not equal to men in occupational fields seems to persist in them. Achievement of excellence through good performance has not yet become a dominant concern for women.

Those educated in vernacular schools have greater concern for moral values and peace than the young people who have received their education in English medium schools.

But the concern for achievement and success is greater among the English medium respondents as compared to those educated in vernacular medium schools.

The rural respondents show marginally higher concern for social service than the city-bred, the study says.

The International Scene

Gross violations of human rights in Afghanistan

The war in Afghanistan is not just a military strain on the Soviet Union. It has also become more and more of a political burden. This became clear in the U.N. general assembly recently when a large majority of the member nations condemned Moscow for gross violations of human rights in Afghanistan. The third world in particular, which on the whole has had a good relationship with the Soviet leaders, reacted to the Soviet forces war on the courageous Afghan mountain people.

The basis for the general assembly's front against the war in Afghanistan is an investigation initiated by the international organization's human rights commission. This is the first time that the commission has turned its critical glance in this way on conditions in a communist society. The verdict is a crushing one. In a detailed report, proof is submitted to show that the Soviet soldiers are taking part in something close to genocide.

The war is waged primarily in the countryside, where resistance to the occupation troops and Babrak Karmal's quisling regime is greatest. The goal is to subdue the civilian population.

According to the UN document, the most unpleasant methods are being used. Men and women are tortured with electric shocks. Children are killed and mutilated by explosive

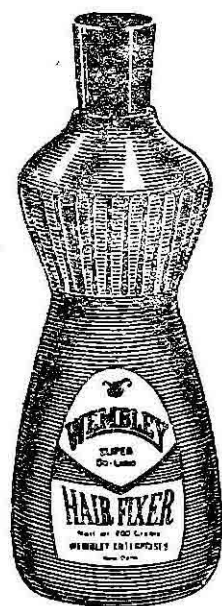
toys. These objects are camouflaged as pens, dolls, harmonicas, radios, or match-boxes. The use of such beastial methods naturally increases the Afghans will to fight and desire for revenge.

On 27 December they will have withstood the Soviet Union and the communist regime in Kabul for six years. Thousands of Soviet youths are dying in the Afghan mountains and valleys to no avail. Approximately half a million civilians have lost their lives and over four million of the country's inhabitants have fled to Pakistan. A military solution is out of sight. But, lately, there have been vague hints from Moscow that the authorities there are interested in finding a political way out of this mire. None less than the party leader himself, Mikhail Gorbachev, has intimated that an arrangement can be found, on certain conditions, that will put an end to the bloody war. During the summit meeting in Geneva, members of president Reagan's delegation also had the impression that Gorbachev is prepared to carry out an "honorable" withdrawal from Afghanistan.

These signals have not yet crystallized in concrete actions. And it will not be easy to shape a compromise which prevents the Soviet Union from "Losing Face". But the atmosphere in the UN has gradually become so obviously critical of the Soviet invasion that it would cost more politically and cost more friends than Moscow can afford in the long run. Gorbachev already has reason to be concerned about the Soviet Union's falling prestige in the international organization.

Kirtan Samagam at the Sadan

The Kirtan Samagam organised at Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi on Sunday last included melodious kirtan by Sardar Indermohan Singh Kulmohan Singh. After observing five-minute Nam Simran, the Sangat was delighted by Bhai Vir Singh's poem 'Arti' in which the River Ganga has been urged to carry the *Dona* to Patna, the abode of Guru Gobind Singh. It was rendered into traditional melody by radio and TV artist Sardar Harbhajan Singh Rattan. The tract 'Gurmat Nam' published by Sahitya Sadan was distributed to the Sangat.



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Fitting Rebuttal Of Bhajan Lal's Propaganda Barrage

National And International Norms Must Be Followed For Chandigarh

Punjab Finance Minister Balwant Singh has, solidly and convincingly, deflated Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal's propaganda balloons about areas of Punjab which are to be given to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh.

Perhaps the Haryana leader wants to steal the thunder from opposition leaders within his state and, therefore, goes on making wild claims which have no relation with realities. Maybe he thinks that if he made grossly-exaggerated claims, he might succeed in securing a bigger chunk of the cake than otherwise.

There is no doubt that Mr Bhajan Lal's rantings have the blessings, if not outright support, of some highups in New Delhi, both in the government and the Congress (I) hierarchy. Otherwise, he should have been bridled long ago.

As we have stressed very often, the question of "compensating" Haryana for "loss" of Chandigarh is preposterous. It conflicts with both international and national norms.

For instance, Pakistan was not compensated when New Delhi remained with India during 1947; East Pakistan got nothing when Calcutta stayed with West Bengal; and Indian part of Punjab did not get a pie or an inch of land when Lahore went over to Pakistani Punjab.

So far whenever a new state was created in India it got no compensation whatsoever for the loss of the erstwhile capital. Andhra Pradesh got nothing when Madras remained with Tamil Nadu and Gujarat drew blank when Bombay stayed in Maharashtra. Punjab was not compensated when Simla was handed over to Himachal Pradesh. Then why a special treatment for Haryana?

Chandigarh was built as capital of Punjab, in place of Lahore, on lands belonging to entirely Punjabi-speaking villages. Even now 95 percent of property there is owned by Punjabis. Ninety percent of its population is Punjabi-speaking.

In keeping with Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966 which gave birth to Haryana, the state could claim, at the

20,000 acres, Haryana can claim 8,000 acres only. And Punjab, as a gesture of generosity, has offered 13 villages, which have many times this share.

In his craze for one-upmanship, Mr Bhajan Lal has offered Punjab 24,000 acres if Chandigarh was left to Haryana. This is just a repeat of his earlier antics when he had offered four villages

in lieu of one village which broke Haryana's contiguity with Abohar-Fazilka belt.

He also argues that Rs 8,000 crores were spent on Chandigarh. But he should realise that all government property suffers depreciation at rate of five percent every year. In this way, the present book value of Chandigarh is just Rs. 20 crores only.

Before the Mathew commission, Haryana had demanded 495 villages. Later, it was content if 83 villages and two towns of Abohar-Fazilka belt were given to it. Now Mr Bhajan Lal asks for 1,200 villages.

Clearly, he has lost his head.

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